

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

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FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9355
INFO AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 4440

STATE ALSO FOR LA/MRSD (GEORGE PHILLIPS) AND ARA/RPP (JOHN O'GRADY)

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ELAB, SHUM, EAID, PGOV, ES
SUBJ: GOES INFORMS EMBASSY IT WILL NOT RENEW VISA OF AIFLD EMPLOYEE

REFS (A) SAN SALVADOR 3816, (B) SAN SALVADOR 4245

SUMMARY. IN AUGUST 23 MEETING CALLED AT REQUEST OF MINISTER OF INTERIOR GENERAL ARMANDO LEONIDAS ROJAS, CHARGE AND LABOR OFFICER MET WITH ROJAS AND MINISTERS OF LABOR AND AGRICULTURE. ROJAS STATED THAT RICHARD OULAHAN, AIFLD EMPLOYEE WHO WAS PART OF AFL-CIO GROUP THAT VISITED EL SALVADOR JULY 17-20, HAD STAYED ON AND ENGAGED IN ACTIVITIES WITH UNION COMUNAL SALVADORENA (UCS) CONTRARY TO UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED BETWEEN AFL-CIO GROUP AND GOES REPRESENTATIVES. HE SAID OULAHAN'S ACTIVITIES WERE, IN ANY CASE, CONTRARY TO SALVADORAN IMMIGRATION LAW SINCE OULAHAN WAS IN EL SALVADOR ON A TOURIST VISA. HE REQUESTED THAT EMBASSY INFORM OULAHAN THAT HIS VISA WOULD NOT BE RENEWED WHEN IT EXPIRED. DOOR WAS OPENED FOR EARLY DISCUSSIONS ON AIFLD/UCS FUTURE. END SUMMARY.

1. ON WEDNESDAY, AUG 23, AT THE REQUEST OF MINISTER
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OF THE INTERIOR GENERAL ARMANDO LEONIDAS ROJAS, CHARGE AND LABOR OFFICER HAD INTERVIEW IN MINISTRY OF INTERIOR WITH ROJAS, MINISTER OF LABOR COL. ROBERTO ESCOBAR GARCIA, AND MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE RUTILIO AGUILERA. AGUILERA REVIEWED HISTORY OF UCS AND GOES EFFORTS TO HELP UCS. ESCOBAR REVIEWED HISTORY OF EFFORTS OF AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FREE LABOR DEVELOPMENT (AIFLD) TO

ESTABLISH AN OFFICE IN EL SALVADOR AND CARRY OUT PROGRAMS WITH UCS AND LABOR UNIONS. HE REFERRED TO THE JULY 17-20 VISIT OF AFL-CIO GROUP (SEE REF A). ESCOBAR STATED THAT IT HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR IN A JULY 19 TELEPHONE CONVERSATION BETWEEN SUBSECRETARY OF INTERIOR OSCAR RODRIGUEZ DIAZ AND AIFLD OFFICIAL MICHAEL HAMMER, THAT UNTIL THE PRIMARY QUESTION OF WHETHER AIFLD WOULD BE ALLOWED TO REESTABLISH AN OFFICE IN EL SALVADOR WAS SETTLED, THE SECONDARY QUESTION OF FURTHER AIFLD ASSISTANCE TO UNION COMUNAL SALVADORENA WOULD HAVE TO BE HELD IN ABEYANCE. HE SAID THAT DESPITE THIS CLEAR STATEMENT, RICHARD OULAHAN, A MEMBER OF THE AFL-CIO GROUP, HAD STAYED BEHIND IN THE CAPACITY OF AN ADVISOR TO THE UCS WITHOUT PRIOR NOTIFICATION TO THE GOES, TO SUPRISE OF GOES OFFICIALS.

2. LABOR OFFICER COMMENTED THAT IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT AFL-CIO GROUP HAD SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED THAT OULAHAN BE ALLOWED TO STAY ON. ESCOBAR DENIED THIS. AT THIS POINT, ROJAS INTERJECTED STATING THAT IN ANY CASE, IN A JULY 29 INTERVIEW WITH OULAHAN, SUBSECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR OSCAR RODRIGUEZ DIAZ HAD MADE IT CLEAR TO OULAHAN THAT, UNDER TERMS OF HIS TOURIST VISA, OULAHAN COULD NOT STAY ON IN EL SALVADOR IN AN ADVISORY CAPACITY TO THE UCS. BOTH CHARGE AND LABOR OFFICER STATED THAT, WHEN QUESTIONED ON THIS INTERVIEW, OULAHAN HAD NOT MENTIONED ANY ISSUE BEING RAISED ABOUT HIS CONFIDENTIAL

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VISA. ROJAS INSISTED THAT, ACCORDING TO WHAT HE HAD BEEN TOLD, OULAHAN HAD RECEIVED A CLEAR WARNING ON THIS POINT.

3. ROJAS WENT ON TO SAY THAT, IN THEIR CAPACITIES AS MEMBERS OF GOES COMMISSION ON THE UCS, ESCOBAR, AGUILERA AND HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED BY PRESIDENT ROMERO TO REQUEST EMBASSY TO ADVISE OULAHAN THAT HIS TOURIST VISA WOULD NOT BE RENEWED, STATING OULAHAN SHOULD CEASE HIS ACTIVITIES IN VIOLATION OF HIS TOURIST STATUS. HE SAID THAT UNDER SALVADORAN IMMIGRATION LAW, OULAHAN COULD NOT ENGAGE IN ACTIVITIES WITH UCS OR OTHERWISE ENGAGE IN LABOR ACTIVITIES WITHOUT A TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMIT. ROJAS ASKED RHETORICALLY HOW USG WOULD REACT IF A SALVADORAN IN THE U.S. ON A TOURIST VISA WENT AROUND GIVING ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE TO UNIONS. HE SAID EVEN MORAN MISSIONARIES OPERATED UNDER A BASIC AGREEMENT WITH GOES.

4. ROJAS FURTHER STATED THAT, BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH HIGHER OFFICIALS IN GOES, ONCE OULAHAN HAD LEFT, GOES WOULD BE PREPARED TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH EMBASSY ON WHAT FORMULA COULD BE ARRIVED AT,

MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY TO ALL PARTIES, THAT MIGHT PERMIT AIFLD TO REESTABLISH AN OFFICE IN EL SALVADOR. ESCOBAR CAUTIONED THAT THIS DID NOT MEAN THAT GOES HAD DECIDED TO LET AIFLD REENTER, ONLY THAT GOES WAS WILLING TO DISCUSS WITH EMBASSY FORMULAS THAT MIGHT MAKE THIS POSSIBLE AND WOULD AVOID WHAT HE CALLED THE "MISTAKES OF THE PAST".

5. WITH REGARD TO THE IMMEDIATE QUESTION OF OULAHAN, CHARGE ASKED IF OULAHAN COULD NOT PERHAPS BE ISSUED ANOTHER TYPE OF VISA THAT WOULD PERMIT HIM TO STAY ON IN EL SALVADOR. ROJAS REPLIED THAT WAS NOT THE POINT; THE HEART OF ISSUE WAS THAT, DESPITE CLEAR STATEMENT OF GOES, AIFLD, IN CONFIDENTIAL

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THE PERSON OF OULAHAN, HAD GONE AHEAD IN DEFIANCE OF GOES TO CARRY OUT ITS PROGRAMS WITH THE UCS IN ABSENCE OF A CLEAR-CUT GOES ANSWER ON QUESTION OF REOPENING AIFLD OFFICE. HE ADDED THAT, CONTINUATION CF SUCH AIFLD ACTIVITIES WITH REPSECT TO UCS MIGHT WELL PREJUDICE PRIMARY QUESTION OF AIFLD REENTRY INTO EL SALVADOR.

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ACTION ARA-14

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LAB-04 NSAE-00 SIL-01 AGRE-00 HA-05 PC-01 L-03
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9356
INFO AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA

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6. CHARGE SAID EMBASSY COULD INFORMALLY ADVISE OULAHAN, AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, THAT IT WAS

INFORMED BY GOES HIS VISA WOULD NOT BE RENEWED, BUT COULD NOT TELL OULAHAN HE MUST CEASE HIS AIFLD ACTIVITIES. THIS, HE SAID, THE GOES WOULD HAVE TO DO ITSELF. HE ARGUED, WITH APPARENT SUPPORT OF MIN AGRICULTURE, THAT TWO COURSES BEING HELD FOR UCS AT AYAGUALO, AUG 23-27 AND AUG 29-SEPT 3 WERE OF BENEFIT TO UCS AND SHOULD NOT BE DROPPED BECAUSE OF EXCLUSION OF OULAHAN FROM PARTICIPATION. THIS LATTER POINT APPEARED TO BE ACCEPTED.

7. CHARGE MADE THREE FURTHER POINTS IN REPLY TO ROJAS: (1) U.S. WAS INTERESTED IN RENDERING AID TO DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, ESPECIALLY CAMPESINO ORGANIZATION; (2) AIFLD WAS AN INDEPENDENT INSTITUTION COMPOSED OF U.S. LABOR AND MANAGEMENT EVEN THOUGHT IT RECEIVED USG FUNDS FOR MAJORITY OF ITS BUDGET, EMPHASIZING FACT THAT EMBASSY HAD NOT BEEN CONSULTED BEFOREHAND ON OULAHAN'S STAYING ON IN EL SALVADOR; AND (3) U.S. EMBASSY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH LOCAL AIFLD OFFICES AND PROGRAMS VARIED CONSIDERABLY FROM CONFIDENTIAL

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COUNTRY TO COUNTRY AND HAD NOT BEEN FULLY DECIDED FOR EVENT OF AIFLD'S RETURN TO EL SALVADOR. A LARGER QUESTION, HE SAID, WAS INVOLVED IN THIS DISCUSSION: THE FUTURE VIABILITY OF UCS, AN ORGANIZATION DEMOCRATIC IN ORIENTATION. CHARGE STATED THAT THE UCS OFFERED OPPORTUNITIES TO ALLEVIATE SOMEWHAT THE POLARIZATION THAT HAD OCCURRED IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REALMS IN EL SALVADOR AND TO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACEFUL AND BENEFICIAL CHANGE IN LIFE OF THE CAMPESION. THUS, U.S. HAD ASSISTED UCS NOT ONLY WITH AIFLD PROGRAMS, BUT ALSO WITH PEACE CORPS, INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION, PL 480 FOOD, FAMILY PLANNING AND OTHER DIRECT AID.

8. CHARGE FURTHER SAID THAT HE WOULD REFER THE RECOMMENDATION ON EMBASSY-GOES DISCUSSIONS ON FUTURE AIFLD PROGRAMS AND PRESENCE IN EL SALVADOR TO WASHINGTON, SINCE MATTER OF EMBASSY, IN EFFECT, NEGOTIATING ON BEHALF OF AIFLD WOULD HAVE TO BE DECIDED AT WASHINGTON LEVEL. A LENGTHY DISCUSSION OUTLINED THREE PHASES INVOLVING POSSIBLE EMBASSY PARTICIPATION (ESPECIALLY IN OPINION GOES OFFICIALS): (1) GOES-USG DISCUSSIONS AND DECISION BEST WAY TO PROCEED ON HOW FUTURE OF AIFLD IS TO BE DETERMINED; (2) DISCUSSIONS TO DETERMINE FUTURE OF AIFLD PRESENCE AND

PROGRAMS -- IMPLICITY INCLUDING AIFLD; AND (3) IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED AIFLD PROGRAMS, WITH REGARD TO WHICH EMBASSY ROLE WOULD BE DECIDED IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS. GOES SIDE WAS TALKING NOW ONLY OF FIRST STAGE. CHARGE DESCRIBED THREE LEVELS AT WHICH MATTER COULD CONCEIVABLY BE RESOLVED: (1) AIFLD-UCS DIRECTLY WITH GOES
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PLAYING PASSIVE ROLE OF ISSUING NECESSARY VISAS FOR AIFLD REPS; (2) AIFLD-GOES WITH UCS PARTICIPATION AND EMBASSY FOLLOWING A PASSIVE ROLE; AOR (3) USG (EMBASSY)-GOES RELATIONSHIP WITH AND ON BEHALF OF UCS AND AIFLD. ALL PAST EXPERIENCE AND DISCUSSION INDICATE GOES PREFERENCE FOR LAST ALTERNATIVE.

9. NOTE: ACCORDING TO EMBASSY'S INFORMATION, OULAHAN'S VISA IS GOOD UNTIL SEPT 14. SKOFIELD IS DUE TO LEAVE EL SALVADOR ON FRIDAY, SEPT 1. LABOR OFFICER, IN AUG 23 COVERSATION WITH UCS SECRETARY-GENERAL JOSE RODOLFO VIERA, LEARNED THAT VIERA ON AUG 21 HAD A ONE AND ONE-HALF HOUR DISCUSSION WITH GEN. JOSE NAPOLEON AGREDA, PRIVATE SECRETARY TO PRESIDENT ROMERO. VIERA REPORTED THAT, IN AN OFTEN HEATED DISCUSSION, AGREDA HAD MADE REFERENCE TO LETTER (OF WHICH GOES APPARENTLY DID NOT RECEIVE PRIOR NOTICE) SENT UP BY UCS TO AIFLD THAT WAS OSTENSIBLE REASON FOR MEANY TELEGRAM AND JULY 17-20 VISIT BY AFL-CIO GROUP. AGREDA REPORTEDLY ALSO CRITICIZED UCS' OVER-RELIANCE ON U.S. HELP WHEN GOES HAD ALREADY PROVIDED TECHNICAL ADVISORS TO UCS. DURING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE THREE MINISTERS ALL FOUND OCCASION TO REFER TO INDIGNATION OVER MEANY'S TELEGRAM OF JULY 7 TO PRESIDENT ROMERO.

10. COMMENT: DESPITE DISAPPOINTMENT OF EMBASSY IN GOES'S CONTEMPLATED COURSE OF ACTION CONCERNING OULAHAN, EMBASSY IS NOT SURPRISED BY GOES RESPONSE (SEE REF B). GOES, BY NOT ASKING OULAHAN TO LEAVE FORTHWITH (DESPITE VIOLATION OF HIS TOURIST STATUS) AND BY OSTENSIBLY ALLOWING SEMINARS TO CONTINUE, AT LEAST HAS PROVIDED SOMETHING OF A GRACEFUL EXIT. LOOKING AT HISTORY OF EVENTS AND EL SALVADOR'S SOVEREIGN RIGHT TO DETERMINE CONDITIONS
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FOR FOREIGNERS TO REMAIN IN ITS COUNTRY (OULAHAN
HAVING NO OFFICIAL STATUS WITH USG), WE SEE LITTLE
BASIS FOR USG PROTEST OF GOES ACTION. IF STATEMENTS
OF ROJAS ARE TO BE TAKEN AT FACE VALUE, GOES
DOES SEEM PREPARED TO HOLD SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS
WITH EMBASSY ON POSSIBLE PARAMETERS OF A FUTURE
AIFLD PRESENCE IN EL SALVADOR. WE RECOMMEND THAT
UNDER GUIDELINES FROM WASHINGTON, EMBASSY BE
INSTRUCTED TO ENTER INTO FIRST STAGE (I.E.,
PRELIMINARY GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT DISCUSSIONS)
IN ORDER THAT IN INTEREST ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES
IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CAMPESINO/
COOPERATIVE FIELDS THIS LONG FESTERING PROBLEM
CAN BEGIN TO BE RESOLVED.
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